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THE MARQUIS DE MORANTE:

His Library and its Catalogue.

BY

RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MANCHESTER LITERARY CLUB.

Manchester:

1883.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

THE MARQUIS DE MORANTE:
HIS LIBRARY AND ITS CATALOGUE.

BY RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE.

ON the thirteenth of June, 1868, there died at Madrid the most eminent bibliophile that Spain has produced—one of the very few Spaniards worthy of the name of a bibliophile—the collector of by far the most extensive private library that has ever been formed in the Peninsula, or that has anywhere been collected in the nineteenth century. The name of Don Joachim Gomez de la Cortina, Marques de Morante, is all but unknown on this side the Channel. The British Museum and the Bodleian indeed each possess the nine volumes of his catalogue, but I doubt whether any other complete copy, except my own, exists in England; and although the library has now been disposed of by auction, and many of the rarer volumes are included in the treasures of the British Museum, yet the sales neither had the pecuniary success nor attracted the attention which the collection certainly deserved. But a library of one hundred and twenty thousand volumes—the great majority in Latin (though with numerous books in Greek, Italian, French, and Spanish), which included many *Editiones Principes* of Greek and Latin classics, books printed on vellum, rare productions of the early Paris press, books in the richest

and most beautiful bindings, ancient and modern, and from the libraries of the most distinguished amateurs—may be thought not unworthy of attention at a time when the sales of the Sunderland and Beckford collections have been received with so much enthusiasm,* and the books themselves have been so keenly contended for, and have fetched such enormous prices.

It was not until about the year 1840 that the eminent booksellers in Paris who particularly devoted themselves to the sale of fine and rare books, and to compiling the catalogues for the great sales by auction, Techener, Potier, Merlin, and others, began to learn, and to learn with no little surprise, that Africa no longer commenced at the Pyrenees, but that a book collector existed in Spain; and soon afterwards the Paris binders whose artistic productions have so enormously enhanced the value of the books to which they have devoted their labours and their talents, Capé, Thouvenin, Bauzonnet, and Duru, began to receive books to be richly bound for, and stamped with the arms and monograms of the same amateur. But it was not until the first volume of the Marquis de Morante's catalogue appeared in print, in 1854, that his name was known except to a few booksellers and binders, and it was an article in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, in 1862, by G. Brunet, on the completion of the eighth volume of the catalogue, that first introduced the marquis generally to the knowledge of the French collectors and men of letters; and as no bibliophile had been heard of in Spain since the death of Don Vincente Salva of Valencia, the existence of such a library as that of the Marquis de Morante caused no little interest.

"I remember," writes the bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix),

* Enthusiasm for the *books*, but contempt and disgust for the meanness or extravagance which has led the inheritors of great names to regard their ancestral treasures of art and literature merely as a means of acquiring money.

in the interesting note prefixed to the first sale catalogue of the collection, "that one day I met Motteley, the model bibliophile, coming out of the *atelier* of his fetish the binder Duru. He was pensive, full of care and anxiety. 'I have just seen,' he said, 'a collection of astonishing bindings on which the incomparable Duru is lavishing all his marvellous imagination and genius, but I have not yet been able to discover the name of their fortunate possessor. I admire while I execrate them, for they have caused our friend Duru to delay the execution of some of mine. There is only Monseigneur the Duc d'Aumale to whom Duru would sacrifice me in this way; and, indeed, if it were any one else, I should never forgive him. No one but a "past master" in book collecting would order such bindings, and it is only a prince who could pay for them.' The bindings were for the Marquis de Morante. When Motteley was informed of this he cried out: 'At length Spain possesses a bibliophile.'"

Don Joachim Gomez de la Cortina was born in Mexico on the 6th of September, 1808. He was the third son of Don Vincente Gomez de la Cortina, a member of a noble Spanish family of the province of Santander, whither he returned, on the revolt of Mexico from the Spanish crown. In right of his wife, Don Vincente was Count de la Cortina. Don Joachim passed with distinction through the University of Alcala, and, after taking the degree of Doctor *utrius que juris*, received the appointment of Professor of Canon Law in that University; and on the transfer of the University of Alcala to Madrid, in 1840, though only thirty-two years of age, he was nominated Rector of that great institution, an office which he held at this time for only two years, the death of his father in 1842 having obliged him to proceed to Mexico in order to arrange his family affairs. On his return to Spain, in 1844, he was appointed Supernumerary Judge of the Court of Appeal of Madrid; in 1847 he

received the title of Marquis de Morante, and shortly afterwards the Grand Crosses of Charles the Third and Isabella the Catholic, and was made a Knight of the military Order of Santiago de Compostella. From 1851 to 1853 he held for the second time the office of Rector of the University of Madrid, which he vacated upon being made a member of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice. In 1859 he was raised to the dignity of Senator. Señor F. A. Barbieri—no less distinguished as a musical composer than as an enthusiastic bibliophile, from whose biographical notice of the Marquis de Morante, prefixed to the sale catalogue of 1872, the foregoing details are taken—informs us that the marquis always refused to receive the income attached to the various offices which he held, in some instances renouncing them in favour of the State, in others assigning them for the benefit of the poor.

Some time before his death he resigned all his offices, in order to give himself up exclusively to his library and his studies. From a very early age he had devoted himself with ardour to the collection of books, and when a student at the University of Alcala, had laid the foundations of his great library, and had employed all that he could spare from his allowance in the purchase of books. His income for many years before his death was about £5,000 per annum, two-thirds of which he spent on his library.

Although the Marquis de Morante filled from time to time so many important posts, his affections were wholly with his books, and he never willingly left his library; business and duty alone took him beyond its walls. He never travelled except from necessity; twice only he visited Paris, once on his way to Mexico in 1842, and again in 1848. London he merely passed through once on his Mexican journey, and from the time that he resigned his public offices it was only on very rare occasions that he went out of his house. His

library was placed in three magnificent halls, paved with marble, which he had built for the purpose. There from morning till night the marquis might be found, wearing a short jacket of coarse ticking, with a pair of old slippers on his feet. This dress he found the most convenient, and it was never changed. Visitors would generally find him at the top of a lofty ladder, like Dominie Sampson, partly arranging, partly reading his books, for it must not be supposed that the marquis was a mere collector; he was an excellent Latin scholar, and his main aim and object was to collect all the editions of the Latin classics and all books bearing upon Latin philology and criticism. Latin was the language which he always desired to speak; and his chief amusement, and indeed the only one in which he indulged in the later years of his life, was to entertain in the evening a few friends for the purpose of discussing in Latin philological and literary subjects. Yet these discussions, we may suppose, would be more entertaining to him than to his friends. Accustomed in all that part of his life which was not passed in his library to act either as a professor or as a judge, believing thoroughly in his own infallibility and in his own good fortune, he could not bear the slightest opposition, and a contradiction persisted in, involved the disgrace of the contradictor. He was so tenacious in his opinions that on several occasions, Señor Barbieri tells us, having cited as an authority a text, which on being referred to turned out exactly the contrary of what he had stated, he preferred to alter it as an error, rather than to admit that he was wrong. He never asked advice, and when it was offered never took it. Punctually as the clock struck nine, however interesting might be the conversation it sharply closed, and the guests hastened to take their leave.

Yet notwithstanding all this he was a man of solid learning if not of much judgment, and his *Etymological Dictionary of the Latin and Spanish Languages*, whatever may be its abso-

lute merits, certainly must take a high place amongst the books of Latin scholarship which the Peninsula has produced. Besides this book, his only literary productions, with the exception of his catalogue and its numerous dissertations, were a few unimportant philological and literary tracts.

His habits, as may be supposed, were of the simplest. Caring for money only for the purpose of buying books or of relieving the poor (for of the third of his income which he devoted to his personal wants a large portion went in charity), he was yet most methodical in his accounts, and finding on one occasion that his laundress had made a mistake of an *ochavo* (rather less than a farthing), he apostrophized her in most severe and harsh terms on the subject of the error, but presented her at the same time with a twenty-franc piece, to show his approval of her skilful laundry work. His servants were numerous, and he was a most kind master, leaving pensions by his will to each of his domestics, and to his cook the handsome income of eight francs per day. Yet her labours cannot have been very arduous, for the marquis ate the simplest food, drank with it a very little wine, never taking tea, coffee, or spirits, and neither smoking nor taking snuff. He seems to have been a good deal bored by his official duties as a judge, for whenever he sat in Court a volume of Horace or Virgil would be seen peeping from his pocket ready to be taken out at any moment of leisure, or possibly during the too long speech of a tedious advocate. Theatres and public amusements were entire strangers to him; sometimes he indulged in a game at cards with a few intimates, and he possessed no mean skill at *tresillo* and *revesino*. But at cards, as in discussion, he could not bear to lose, being unable to understand either that his skill could be surpassed or that his good fortune could fail.

During the latter part of his life he was deaf, irritable, and with a perpetual cold in the head, caused by passing his

whole time in the cold galleries of his library. He amused himself, according as any of his friends pleased or displeased him, by making fresh codicils to his will, adding or omitting their respective names. Yet he was by no means ungenial, and took pleasure in relating to his friends various incidents in his life, but absolutely refusing to assign dates or to give any information which would allow of the possibility of his life being written. Nor would he ever allow his portrait to be taken. He was very little, very thin, with prominent cheek bones, a dark complexion, and very bright eyes. The Marquis de Morante died from the effects of a fall from a ladder in his library. His body was embalmed, and then, placed in a magnificent bronze sarcophagus which he had himself caused to be prepared for its reception, was buried in the church of which his father had been the founder, at Salazar, in the province of Santander.

The library of the Marquis de Morante consisted at the time of his death of 21,021 articles, comprising, according to M. Paul Lacroix, more than 120,000 volumes. First and foremost came the editions of the classics, and specially of the Latin classics. There were *Editiones Principes*, among them those of Cicero de Oratore, of Quintus Curtius (now in my possession), Valerius Maximus, Claudian, Orosius; other still rarer editions, the Livy of Udalric Gallus of 1469, the Martial of 1473; many other *incunabula*, including a large paper copy of the *Bible* printed at Naples by Moravus in 1476. Of editions and translations of, and dissertations on Horace, we find no less than 545; there are 117 editions of Sallust, 169 of Virgil, 93 of Terence, 89 of Ovid, 76 of Tacitus, 73 of Quintus Curtius. These figures will give some idea of the extent of the collection of Latin classics. The commentators and the critics are even more numerous. I know of no library except the Sunderland which is so rich in those of the sixteenth century. After

the classics and their commentators come the modern Latin writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a larger collection of modern Latin poetry than is, I think, to be found elsewhere. Early and rare books, written against the Church of Rome, the works of heretics, reformers, sectaries, and atheists, form by no means the least interesting or the least numerous section of the library—a section which one is surprised to find in a Spanish library, and in that of an orthodox Catholic, who died in faith after receiving the last sacraments of the Church. Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian books on all these subjects are numerous. Of Ochino, no less than seventeen articles appear in the catalogue, mostly original editions. Faustus Socinus, and Servetus are both well represented ; of the latter there is a truly remarkable collection. Numerous books in all classes of literature, in French, Spanish, and Italian, but I have only noticed three or four English books and none in German, though several of the Latin works of Luther are to be found.

Many of the books came from celebrated libraries ; a presentation copy from Joseph Scaliger of his *De emendatione temporum* to De Thou, with the autographs of both these eminent persons; between forty and fifty other examples of books, now so eagerly sought for, from the library and with the arms of De Thou. There were books from the collections of the kings, queens, dauphins, and princes of France, from those of popes, of kings of England and Spain, of Calvin, Philippe de Mornay, Cardinal Richelieu, Leonard Aretin, Cardinal Granvelle, the inquisitor Torquemada, of the great bibliophiles Longepierre, Maioli, Count de Hoym, Bishop Huet, and nearly every collector of this and the last century; books with the autographs of Colletet, Desportes, Robert Estienne, Malherbe, Ramus, Aldus the younger, Erasmus, Joseph Scaliger, and, as the marquis loved to persuade himself, of Rabelais and of Racine. Nor was the library less

rich in bindings. It included curious and splendid specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—books bound by Clovis Eve in the sixteenth, by Le Gascon and Du Seuil in the seventeenth; by Boyet, Padeloup, Derome, and Bradel in the eighteenth, and by nearly every one of the eminent French binders of the nineteenth century, some in considerable numbers, and nearly all in excellent preservation. Of the books which were not thought by the marquis worthy of being sent to the great French binders, or which were not already bound, a large number were in the rich if not always tasteful binding of Schæfer, and others were bound by Gil, of Madrid, in mottled calf, or green or plum-coloured morocco, or in basane, a preparation of sheep most admirably and artistically prepared by Gil to imitate morocco. The arms of the marquis, with their eight quarterings and surmounted by the coronet of a marquis, were generally stamped in gold on the sides, in some cases with a monogram at the four corners. Above the arms were the words, "*J. Gomez de la Cortina et amicorum*," and below, "*Fallitur Hora Legendo.*" The bookplate in the inside had sometimes the arms surmounted by a count's coronet, the words, "*Bibliotheca Cortiniana*" underneath, and on the three other sides, "*Egregios cumulare libros præclara supellex.*" Yet, although following the example of Grolier (of whose books no authentic specimen was possessed by the marquis) and of Maioli, he stated on the books themselves that they were for the use of his friends as well as himself, he was extremely unwilling to lend, or even to exhibit any of his treasures. If the volume asked for was a rare one, it was generally "at the binder's;" if a common and modern book, and especially if the applicant were a poor student, the marquis would not unfrequently buy a copy and present it to the would-be borrower.

Yet rich as was the collection of the Marquis de Morante,

and numerous as were the books—valuable by their beauty, their rarity, their magnificent bindings, or their intrinsic merits—there was something wanting to the perfection of the library. Of hardly any author, and in hardly any department, were the rarest of all editions to be found; there were but two books printed on vellum, and neither of them of much interest; one was a modern impression, the other a copy of the *Epistles of Raulin*, printed at Paris in 1521. Of the *Editiones Principes* of the Latin classics there were but few, and indeed hardly any of the rarest. Nor were the *Incunabula* generally of the highest degree of rarity. There was no Horace earlier than 1477; the first Virgil was dated 1492; the Cæsars commenced with the second edition, that of Jenson (1471); of Cicero the *De Oratore* of Sweynheym and Pannartz, of 1469, and the *De Finibus* (Venice), 1471, were the earliest and the only two of very much interest, while the early editions of the other Latin classics were still less worthily represented. Among the Aldines, though we find both editions of the *Hypnerotomachia* of Poliphile, there was neither the Horace, the Virgil, nor the Petrarch of 1501, and very few of the books printed by Aldus in the fifteenth century. It was in editions of the latter half of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that the library was especially rich, and these, except when in splendid bindings or coming from the library of a celebrated person, do not, meritorious and interesting as many of them are, add to the glories of a library. Moreover, one singular feature of the collection, which certainly detracted to a large extent from its value, was the extraordinary number of common books and editions, represented not by duplicates or triplicates, but by a still greater number of copies. The *Lampas sive fax* of Gruter, is a book which one expects to find in the library of every classical scholar and student; it is a work which no one interested either in Latin criticism

or in literary history can conveniently dispense with, but it is neither rare, costly, nor a fine specimen of typography, yet no less than thirteen copies of the first edition (seven volumes, usually bound in seventeen) are to be found; and it is clear from the position of the book in the original catalogue and its successive supplements, that the Marquis de Morante bought a copy every time he met with one, and would probably have doubled the number had he lived long enough. Those that appeared in the last supplement to the catalogue, printed after the death of the marquis, are clearly inferior copies to those he already possessed, one of the finest of which, in his dark green basane, with gilt edges and his arms on the sides, now reposes on the shelves of my own library. Of the imperfect second edition (really a different work) in four volumes, folio, seven copies were in the library. Of the *De Charlataneria Eruditorum* of Mencken there were two copies of the edition of 1716, two of 1721, two of 1726, two of 1727, and three of 1747. Of the *Elegantiæ* which passes under the name of Meursius there were three copies of the edition of 1678 and six copies of that of 1774. Of the *Polyhistor* of Morhof there were two copies of the best edition, that of 1747 (the finest of which I possess), and at least five of the earlier and really worthless editions of 1708 and 1714. Of the *Bibliotheca Latina* of Fabricius, of 1773, six copies, and seven of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Palingenius, of 1722. Of the *Lexicon Ciceronianus* of Nizolius there were numerous examples, including two copies of the edition of 1734 and four of the modern reprint of 1820. There were four copies of the poems of Lotichius Secundus of 1754, the same number of the Epistles of Casaubon of 1709, three copies of the Delphin Martial of 1680, of the works of Muretus of 1789, and of the Basle edition of Nonius Marcellus of 1842. Why the marquis should have desired to acquire these numerous copies of common books it is diffi-

cult to say, for, unlike Heber, who wished to have a complete library in every one of his various residences, the marquis, as I have before said, confined himself almost entirely to his house in Madrid.

It was in 1854 that the Marquis de Morante completed and caused to be printed the first volume of the catalogue of his library, with the following title: *Catalogus librorum Doctoris D. Joach. Gomez de la Cortina March. de Morante qui in ædibus suis exstant.** Successive volumes appeared in 1855, 1857 (two), 1859 (two), 1860, and 1862; and after the marquis's death a supplementary volume, the ninth, was printed in 1870. The book is one of the most remarkable, one of the most interesting, and one of the rarest catalogues in existence, and is perhaps the only catalogue of a great library compiled by the collector of the books himself. Five hundred copies only were printed, nearly the whole of which, bound in the green basane before mentioned and stamped with the arms of the marquis, were presented to private friends and public libraries, mostly in Spain.† The arrangement is alphabetical according to the name of the author. In the sixth volume, on p. 374, the first alphabet reaches its conclusion; a supplement, again in alphabetical order, extends to the rest of

* Though the title is in Latin, the notes and biographies which the catalogue contains are in Spanish.

† A copy was sold in the second sale in 1872 (No. 3005) for one hundred and ten francs, and an imperfect copy, six volumes only, I purchased at Sotheby's or Puttick's some eight or ten years since; but I am not aware of any other copy having come to the hammer or having appeared in any bookseller's catalogue. My own complete copy, bound in green basane and stamped with the Morante arms, was one of those retained by the marquis up to his death and sold with his library. It was used by M. Léon Scott de Martinville, who selected the books for the first three sales by auction, and who compiled the sale catalogue. I purchased it from M. Bihn, the bookseller in the Rue de Richelieu, to whom it was sold by M. Scott. M. Bihn found it a most useful book of reference for the purposes of his business, and it was only after repeated requests, and a protracted negociation, that he was induced to part with it. The Bodleian was long unable to procure a copy.

the sixth, the seventh, and a part of the eighth volume; the remainder of the eighth is occupied by a second supplement; while the ninth volume, which appeared in 1870, contains a further supplement, also alphabetical. But the arrangement is extremely faulty; the alphabetical principle was not rigorously adhered to by the marquis. Books which have not the name of the author on the title page, however well known he may be, appear sometimes under the author's name, sometimes under the first or some subsequent word of the title. It is thus impossible to ascertain merely by referring to the name of the author, whether a copy of any book was possessed by the marquis. The same book will sometimes be found in different parts of the catalogue, in one place under the name of the author, in another under the title of the book. Numerous also are the books which, being bound together, are placed only under the name of the author of the one which comes first in the volume, for cross references are entirely wanting. Of the several editions of the same book, the intention of the author seems to have been to arrange them in chronological order, but in numerous instances earlier editions are postponed to later ones, and in the case of many authors, no principle is discernible in the arrangement of their several books and editions. Nor is there even any semblance of a system or principle in the mode in which the titles are given. Frequently—and this adds greatly to the value and utility of the catalogue—the full title page appears, sometimes only a meagre abridgment of it. Duplicates of the same book are often inserted under titles so different as to make it at first sight appear that they are different works, and an inferior and worthless edition often has a longer and more elaborate title than the best edition of the same book.

One most curious and interesting feature of the catalogue is that to every book the price which it cost the marquis is

appended. These vary greatly. Of the books purchased from Techener (usually from the catalogues of the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*) and other leading French booksellers, and of a considerable number of classical editions and commentaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the prices are high; yet of a large portion of the library—consisting partly as it would seem of the books which the marquis had bought in his earlier days, partly of classes of books like those of Ochino, Servetus, and other reformers and heretics, which have only recently become much sought after—we are astonished at the trifling sums which they had cost. Of the books bought from his collection for the British Museum, many fetched ten times the price which had been paid for them; but on the average, the full value had been given by the marquis, according to the prices of the time.

The great value and interest of the catalogue, however, consists of the numerous biographical and bibliographical notes and notices which it contains, and which vary in extent from half a line to two hundred and eighty pages, the longer notices being sometimes original articles, sometimes complete translations into Spanish of Latin or French lives of the authors in question.

In the first volume the notices seldom extend to more than a few lines, comprising references to Brunet, to the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, or short original descriptions of the books. The appendix to the second volume, of more than one hundred pages, contains a Spanish translation, with additions, of Nisard's life of Justus Lipsius, and succeeding volumes contain translations of the same author's lives of Scaliger and Casaubon. In the body of the third volume is an article of fifty pages devoted to Olympia Morata, one of nine pages to Muretus, one of seven pages to Navagero, one of eight pages to Bernard Ochino, besides numerous short notices, while an appendix of more than one hundred pages

is devoted to a biography of Don Manuel Marti, Dean of Alicante, a prolific Spanish writer. In the fourth volume is a long life of Aonio Paleario (thirty-five pages), of Poggio Bracciolini (twenty-two pages), of Pontanus (ten pages), and an appendix containing, besides other matter, translations of Nisard's life of Scaliger, and an anonymous French life of Passerat. The fifth volume, which has no less than eleven hundred and fifty-three pages, contains lives of Sabellicus, Sadolet, and others, and an appendix containing a long life of Francisco Sanchez de Las Brozas (better known as Sanctius, author of *Minerva*) and extracts from his works; also a translation of M. Bonafous' life of Politian. The sixth contains long lives of Gerard and Isaac Vossius, Joannes Pierius Valerianus, Laurentius Valla, Gaspar Barlæus, and Gaspar Barthius, while the appendix of two hundred and eighteen pages contains a life of Vida, by Don Gaspar Bono Serrano, and Vida's three books of *Poetics* in the original Latin, and a translation into Spanish verse. In the seventh volume are lives of Guillaume Canter, Giovanni de la Casa, Mathurin Cordier, Etienne Dolet (twenty-five pages, extracted from the work of Boulmier), and Gaspar Dornavius, and in the appendix a life of Leon de Castro, by Don Vicente de la Fuente. The eighth volume contains lives of Paul Jovio and Lotichius Secundus, and in the appendix a biography of Juan Sobrarias, with long extracts from his Latin poems. Moreover, to three of the volumes elaborate introductions are prefixed by Fr. Cutanda, Al. Mendiburu, and Rom. Goicoerrotea; while the fifth is preceded by an introduction to the study of literature, by Don Augustus Echavarria, who indulges in an amusing tirade against Protestant Bibles, Protestant missionaries, and Protestantism in general.*

* After saying that Protestantism is a mixture of egotism, pride, and wrong-headedness which is happily incommunicable to the Spaniards, and is steadily dying out, and after ridiculing Protestant Bishops with *Madame la Señora Bishopess* and their innumerable little cubs, he apostrophizes (in what he supposes to be English) "*Patent-brandy and suggar, tee and butter Missionaries!*"

But the longer lives and notices to which I have referred, do not exhaust the interest of the book. The short notes are perhaps more interesting than the long biographies, yet they do not in general reflect much credit upon the literary acumen or the bibliographical exactness of their author. They abound in errors, and seem frequently to have been extracted from Brunet, the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, and other books, without their accuracy having been verified. Yet this censure does not apply to the whole. Many notes contain bibliographical matter which would be in vain sought for elsewhere, and are well worthy of being reprinted. Indeed a volume of no little interest might be compiled from the literary, biographical, and bibliographical notes which are scattered throughout the first eight volumes. And when all deductions are made for the imperfections which I have noted, the book will always remain of interest and importance, not only bibliographical, but also literary, and its compiler is certainly entitled to the benefit of the "*advertencia final*" with which the eighth volume terminates, and which I here translate :—

At last I have arrived at the end of my labour, and if I have not attained the success at which I originally aimed, and which some of my readers may have expected, at least I shall be credited with the good intentions which have induced me to undertake the work. To-day, when I finish a task much more arduous than we are accustomed to think a catalogue can be, may I not say with Ovid :

"Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus istud,
Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis.
Et veniam pro laude peto laudatus abunde,
Non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero."

Occupations of various kinds to which from my youth upwards I have been obliged to give my attention, and latterly the infirm state of my health, have prevented me from devoting myself to this work with all the intensity and fervour which its special character required.

Those who are competent to form a judgment in this difficult branch of literature will not be surprised to find here and there an opinion too rashly expressed, a departure from the rigorous order of authors or subjects, a carelessness or solecism of style, which the intelligence of the reader will know how to correct. They will pardon other and more serious faults resulting from the

inherent imperfections of our wretched human nature, as when for example (at p. 398 of vol. v.), by a veritable *lapsus calami*, I have referred to Grolier and Maioli as *binders*.

As the compilation of this catalogue was undertaken without any idea of profit, and still less with the desire of displaying my learning (for there is nothing more opposed to my ideas and my character than to make a parade of my erudition), five hundred copies only have been printed, destined exclusively for my friends, or for other persons specially devoted to the studies of classical antiquity. I hope that, in spite of the unfavourable circumstances in which this catalogue has been arranged and compiled, it will open to its readers a wide field of investigation. In it will be found curious notices respecting a large number of works of merit, interesting and circumstantial details serving to illustrate the learning and character of eminent writers, and a vast arsenal for tracing the development of Latin literature in its different phases. The scarcity of works of this kind among us is what has most encouraged me to take up the pen. Even in the nations in which a marked preference has been shown for these studies, although biographies abound, biographical catalogues are wanting; and it is no doubt to this circumstance, rather than to its intrinsic merit, that my catalogue is indebted for the repeated compliments which it has had the good fortune to receive from the most eminent humanists of Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and other foreign capitals. Perhaps I shall be censured for having been too minute in certain of the biographies interspersed in the eight volumes which compose the work. But we must not lose sight of the fact, that in order to properly appreciate the labours of an author it is indispensable in some sort to identify ourselves with him; and nothing contributes so surely to this as the knowledge of certain characteristic traits which we meet with in his private life. These often make known to us the idea which was present in his mind and which guided his pen. Lastly, to those who reproach me with being too prolix in the specimens which I have given of certain authors, and particularly of poets who are little known and less studied, I shall repeat what the learned Dean of Alicante, Manuel Marti, has said in speaking of the works of learned antiquity: "E veterum nimirum scriptis nec voculam prætereuntum sine piaculo. Quemadmodum enim in quolibet speculi fragmento rei objectæ integra nobis species repræsentatur, haud aliter in quantulacumque antiqui scriptoris superstite particula, priscæ illius simplicetatis candoris, puritatis, leporis, elegantiæ imaginem perspicies."

Madrid, 31 Jan., 1862. EL MARQUÉS DE MORANTE.

In the six years which elapsed between the publication of the eighth volume of his catalogue and his death, Don Joachim had acquired about five thousand further volumes, chiefly modern and of little interest. An alphabetical list of the titles and the prices given for them was printed in 1870, and forms the ninth and last volume of the catalogue.

The heirs of the Marquis de Morante having it may be

presumed neither taste for books themselves, nor any desire that so great a collection should be preserved in Spain, hastened to dispose of his library. In little more than a year after the death of its creator it was sold *en bloc* to M. Bachelin-Deflorenne, the well-known French bookseller, with a view to its sale by auction forthwith. The purchaser no doubt expected to obtain a large profit, since at that time fine books, like all other articles of luxury under the empire, were selling at great prices, though not approaching those which they have reached during the last two or three years. But unfortunately before the books could be removed to Paris, the Franco-German war broke out. The fall of the empire, the siege of Paris, and the troubles of the Commune left neither leisure nor taste for book sales. The Commune fell at the end of May, 1871. Soon book sales recommenced, and within six months the approaching sale of the choicest portion of the library of the Marquis de Morante was announced. A large part of the library was brought to Paris, and M. Léon Scott de Martinville, the accomplished librarian of M. Firmin-Didot (to whom we owe the fragment of the catalogue of M. Didot which appeared in 1867) was employed by Bachelin to select the books and to prepare the sale catalogue. The first sale took place at the Hotel Drouot, on the 27th of February, 1872, and ten following days.

The catalogue contained one thousand nine hundred and nine lots, comprising the rarest and the choicest volumes of the collection. There were manuscripts, illuminated books, books printed on vellum, *editiones principes*, books of figures books in rich and choice bindings, books with autograph notes, and others coming from the libraries of kings and princes and distinguished amateurs. But Paris had not sufficiently recovered from the shocks of the siege and the Commune for such a sale to be successful. The great majority

of the books possessed but little interest for the ordinary French collector, except what was given by their bindings or the celebrity of former owners. Early-printed French books, fine impressions of the French classics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are what the French bibliophile especially cares for. *Incunabula*, even the rarest and finest *editiones principes*, are comparatively little in demand in France, and the systematic neglect by the French of even their own countrymen who, in the sixteenth century, wrote in Latin has been often noticed. In England, where the taste for such books was and is much more extended and the demand much greater, there seems to have been no attempt to bring the sale to the knowledge of the collectors and booksellers; though even in England, ten years since, the demand for early-printed Latin books was far less than it is at present. In the *Bibliophile Français* for March, 1872, M. Bachelin-Deflorenne announced that 120,000fr. (£5,000) had been obtained at the sale, and added: "Le succès de la vente a depassé toute attente." In reality the sale was a complete *fiasco;* for many of the books there was not a single *bonâ-fide* bid; many others, especially of the rarest, did not reach the very high reserved prices put on them by their owner, and about half were bought in by Bachelin or his agents.* Of the rare books, those in French, especially early Gothic editions and Protestant tracts, were generally sold, and fetched high prices, many of the former being no doubt bought for the Duc d'Aumale, and of the latter for M. Gaiffe. The principal purchaser, however, was Mr. Ellis, of Bond

* Though it was well known to the initiated, yet there was no public avowal of the fact, that the books sold were the property of Bachelin-Deflorenne, who assumed to be the *bonâ-fide* purchaser of the books which had been bought in by or for him. One of the least satisfactory features of the Paris book sales is the impossibility of knowing whether the bids are *bonâ-fide* or merely those of an agent employed by the vendor to run up the price. This was said to be the case to an enormous extent at the Didot sales, a large number of books which purported to be sold being really bought in for the vendors.

Street, who bought one hundred and thirteen lots for the British Museum* at an entire cost of £506—certainly very

* Mr. Ellis has been so obliging as to furnish me with a list of the books purchased by him for the Museum. They comprise several of the rarer tracts of the French and Italian reformers, and a few unusually fine and rare Incunabula, but with these exceptions were not perhaps books of much general interest. Those for which more than one hundred francs were paid were as follows :—(No. 26) *Quadernos Ystoricos de la Biblia*, printed by Jean de Tournes at Lyons in 1553, and which is remarkable as containing the first impressions of the woodcuts of Solomon Bernard, being earlier than any of the editions in French. The marquis had paid for it only 180 reals, *i.e.*, £1. 16s. It fetched 190fr.—(51) *Christianæ Religionis arcana* of Thomas Elysius (1569), in a magnificent binding *à la Grolièr* of the sixteenth century, 300fr. It had been purchased from Techener (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1855, p. 197) for 250fr.—(99) Orations of *Caceres Pacheco*, 1570, the presentation copy to Pius V., to whom the book is dedicated, 260fr. Cost 250fr. (*B. du B.*, 1855, p. 122.)—(100) *Energumenicus* of B. Faye, 1571, in a splendid binding *à la Grolièr*, 140fr. Cost 210 reals (£2. 2s.)—(112) *Calumniæ nebulonis cujusdam* and *Calvini responsio*, 1558, 150fr. Cost £2. 11s.—(113) *L'impiété huguenotte descouverte par Maistre Jehan Calvin*, 1656, 320fr. Cost 8s.—(115) *La Physique papale* of Viret, 1552, 190fr. Cost 15s.—(116) *Le Requiescant in pace de Purgatoire* of Viret, 1552, coming from the collections of Girardot de Prefond, Nodier, and Giraud, 420fr. Cost £2. 11s.—(118) *Exposition familière* of Viret, 1561, 255fr. Cost £1. 1s.—(126) *Anatomie de la messe* of P. Du Moulin, 1638, 140fr. Cost £2. 11s.—(135) *De l'institution, usage et doctrine du Saint Sacrement* of Philip de Mornay, 1598, the author's own copy, in the original brown morocco binding, with his initials and those of his wife on the sides and back, 300fr. Cost 13s.—(143) *De idolo Lauretano* of Vergerio, 1554, 140fr. Cost 120fr. (*B. du B.*, 1852, p. 808.)—(147) *Le Glaive du geant Goliath* of C. Leopard, 1561, an extremely rare pamphlet, 210fr. Cost 10s.—(148) A still rarer tract, *Sentence Decretale et condemnatoire au fait de la paillarde papauté*, 1561, 210fr. Cost 14s.—(185) Ochino *De Cœna Domini*, 1556, 110fr. Cost £2. 2s.—(187) Ochino *Liber de Corporis Christi præsentia in Cœnæ Sacramento*, 230fr. Cost £2. 10s.—(188) *De Arbore scientiæ* of S. Frank, 1561, 225fr. Cost 16s.—(204) *De exercitatione jurisperitorum*, presentation copy to Julius III., with his arms, in magnificent binding, 185fr. Cost £6. 8s.—(264) *Caton, Les motz et sentences dorées*, Lyons, 1538, 110fr. Cost £3. 2s.—(273) Spanish translation of Petrarch, *De los remedios contra fortuna*, 1505, 160fr. Cost 19s.—(275) *Le doctrinal de Sapience* of G. Roye, 550fr. Cost £1. 6s.—(560 bis) Uncut copy of the *Grammatica latina* of Ramus, 1572, 160fr. Cost £5. 5s.—(1157) *De bragardissima villa de Soleriis* of Antonio de Arena, Poictiers, 1546, 130fr. Cost £2. 13s.—(1245) *Celestina*, Lisboa, 1540, 240fr. Cost £2.—(1246) Same, Zaragoza, 1545, 200fr. Cost £3. 4s.—(1250) Same, Venice, 1525, 165fr. Cost £3. 8s.—(1251) Same, Venice, 1531, 116fr. Cost £2. 19s.—(1294) Noirot, *L'Origine des masques*, 1609, 160fr. Cost £2. 4s.—(1318) *Carcel de Amor* by Diego de San Pedro,

much less than the present value of the same books, but in excess, on the whole, of the amount which they had cost the marquis. The late M. Tross repeated several times to Mr. Ellis in the course of the sale: "*Monsieur vous êtes la providence de la vente.*"

Nearly all the books at this sale were in fine bindings, and far superior on the whole in condition to the books in the Sunderland library, though not equal to those of the Beckford collection. Four books only passed 1000 francs. No. 967, a rare production of Geoffroy Tory of 1523, then and still believed to be unique, reached 1450 francs; No. 1459, the collection of French classics printed by Didot at the end of the last century, twenty-two volumes, quarto, green morocco, with the arms of the House of Orleans on the sides, reached 1250 francs; and No. 1529, a manuscript on vellum of the *Gesta* of Simon de Montfort, 1380 francs. Besides these, which appear to have met with *bonâ-fide* purchasers (at least I have not noticed them reappear in any of Bachelin's catalogues), No. 1719, the *Chronica Regni Aragonum*, a magnificent manuscript on vellum, was bought in by Bachelin at 1950 francs, and subsequently reappeared in several of his catalogues marked 2200 francs. But for a large number even of rare and interesting books in fine bindings there seems to have been no demand, as many of them were bought in at extremely small amounts. Of the celebrated

Burgos, 1526, 400fr. Cost £3. 4s.—(1320) *Question de Amor*, Medina del Campo, 1545, 195fr. Cost £1. 8s.—(1380) *Proverbia Gallicana*, Troyes, s.d., 110fr. Cost 15s.—(1477) *Pomponius Mela*, Salamanca, 1498, 875fr. Cost £2.—(1518) French translation of John Bale's lives of Bishops and Popes, 1561, 120fr. Cost 13s.—(1522) French translation of Hutten's life of Julius II., 1615, 120fr. Cost £1. 4s.—(1523) *Des faits et gestes du pape Jules III.* of Vergerio, 1551, 130fr.—(1525) *Dialogue et ung merveilleux parlement*, 1522, 800fr. Cost £3. 12s.—(1526) *Pontificius Orator*, 1524, 110fr. Cost 17s.—(1527) *Quivi e descripto quello ha exequire le oratore del Pontifice*, 1522, and other tracts, 160fr. Cost £2.—(1590) Saliat's French translation of Sallust's Orations, 1537, 150fr. Cost £3.—(1611) Spanish translation of Valerius Maximus, 1495, 260fr. Cost £6. 10s.

Amatus Fornacius, which so long enjoyed the doubtful honour of being the original of the *Alcibiade Fanciullo*, but which is now recognized to be an altogether different and uninteresting book, the Marquis de Morante possessed two copies, one (No. 1353) bound up with several other books was knocked down for 10 francs, and the other (No. 2613 at the second sale) fetched only 11 francs; but I have been unable to trace either of them in the subsequent catalogues of Bachelin, though I can hardly believe that they were allowed to be sold for such small sums. A copy of the Dialogues of Jonas Philologus, bound by Padeloup (now in my possession), was bought in for 3 francs! It was subsequently marked 20 francs in Bachelin's catalogue. Of the books which reached more than 200 francs, the number at the first sale was only ninety-four; of these, sixteen were bought by Mr. Ellis, forty-two I have been unable to trace, and therefore assume that they also met with *bonâ-fide* purchasers, while no less than thirty-six were bought in and appeared in subsequent catalogues of Bachelin.

The second sale, comprising one thousand and sixty-four articles, took place in May, 1872, and a third of one thousand and thirty-nine lots in January, 1873; and although in each of these sales a certain number of books of the highest rarity and a large number in fine bindings were included, the prices obtained were extremely small, a still larger proportion than in the first sale having been bought in by Bachelin-Deflorenne.

Shortly after the second and third auctions, Bachelin published catalogues of rare books for sale, principally from the Morante library. The latter of these catalogues contained two thousand five hundred and fifty-six articles, about two-thirds of which are books which had been bought in at these three sales. The high prices at which they were marked by Bachelin, and the utter want of a demand for fine

Latin books in France, prevented a ready sale; most of them remained on hand and many reappeared in the catalogue of the same bookseller of 1875, but without finding purchasers. Ultimately those which still remained unsold were disposed of by auction at the Salle Sylvestre in April, 1875, generally at low prices, far below those at which they had been marked in Bachelin's catalogues, and in many instances at even lower prices than they had been bought in at in the sales of 1872.*

But an immense quantity still remained in his hands, and accordingly in 1878 and 1879 six thousand two hundred and thirty lots were brought to the hammer, in four sales, at the Salle Sylvestre. These successive sales, however, comprised only about two-thirds of the library. The remainder, consisting for the most part of books devoid of any interest, have been gradually disposed of by auction, without it even being stated that they came from the library of the Marquis de Morante. Thus has been dispersed the largest and one of the most important collections of books that has been formed within this century. Many of the rarest of the volumes are on the shelves of the British Museum, many others have been sold at subsequent sales at several times the prices they realized in 1872, and will no doubt hereafter reappear and will surpass the somewhat high prices at which they were valued by Bachelin-Deflorenne.

Of the commoner books there is hardly a catalogue of a French second-hand bookseller but contains some of them, while others have fallen so low in the world that they are

* I was a purchaser of a considerable number of books at the sale in 1875. A copy of the *Adagia* of Erasmus, 1556, in a magnificent contemporary binding, was bought in at the first sale (No. 1372) for 50f.; it subsequently appeared in successive catalogues marked 80fr., and was purchased by me at the sale in 1875 for about 20fr. The *Editio Princeps* of Quintus Curtius, bought in at the second sale for 100fr. (and a copy of which sold at the Sunderland sale for £20), was marked in successive catalogues 270fr., and was purchased by me at the sale in 1875 for 41fr.

exposed on the Quais in Paris without finding a purchaser. All those indeed in the binding of the marquis and stamped with his arms will always have an interest for book collectors; but it is hardly likely that the mere fact of having formed one of the hundred and twenty thousand volumes of the Marquis de Morante will ever in itself be a distinction to a book.

[Of the choicer bindings engravings of thirty-seven were given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the *Bibliophile Français Illustré.* An article upon the marquis is given by M. Guigard in his *Armorial du Bibliophile*, Tome II., p. 135. A review of the great catalogue, from the pen of Gustave Brunet, will be found in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for 1862, pp. 1069 and 1401, and a short notice in *Le Bibliophile Illustré* of Berjeau for 1862, p. 156. To the first part of the sale catalogue of 1872 will be found prefixed three interesting articles, a brief biography of the marquis, by Señor Barbieri; a bibliographical appendix, signed Gustave P——i; and *Quelques mots sur la Bibliothèque du Marquis de Morante, et sur ce Catalogue*, from the pen of the Bibliophile Jacob, M. Paul Lacroix.]